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THE RESULTS OF DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.

BY SENATOR HENRY CABOT LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

“AND everybody praised the duke
Who this great fight did win.”
“But what good came of it at last?”
Quoth little Peterkin.
“Indeed I do not know,” said he :
“But ’twas a famous victory.”

Many Americans have asked Peterkin’s question since the Democratic victory of November, 1892. That it was a victory there can be no doubt, and the skulls and bones consequent upon it can be picked up as easily as Peterkin picked up the skull on the field of Blenheim long after the cheers which greeted the winner had died away into silence. We are able now at this distance of time to look back over the last eighteen months; to survey the desolated field on which the victors have since camped, and to see just what the Democratic victory of 1892 has brought to the people of the United States.

It was a queer army that won the fight. Its officers and soldiers were recruited from many quarters, and it is not without interest, now that their main object of getting into power has been obtained, to look them over. The great mass of the forces came from the South, where the outworn traditions of forty years ago still hold sway and where civilization and the business conditions of the North are only just beginning to make themselves felt. The next largest contingent was supplied from the lower wards of the great cities of the North and was typified by Tammany Hall. Last and least in numbers, but most important of all in their own opinion, were those persons in the North and East who announced in 1884 that they represented the conscience and intelligence of the country. The solid South and Tammany were to supply the

votes, and the proprietors of the conscience and intelligence of the country were to guide this party of reform, provide it with principles, give it money to spend, hold the offices, and in season and out of season sing pæons in praise of their candidate for the presidency. It was a curious combination. Side by side with the solid South were arrayed Tammany Hall and the band who believed in the New York *Evening Post*, "clothed in white samite mystic, wonderful." President Eliot and Richard Croker, Edward Atkinson and John Y. McKane, Carl Schurz and William F. Sheehan, the Reform leagues of New York and Massachusetts, Bat Shea, of Troy, and the twenty-seven election officers formerly of New York city, but now of Sing Sing, were enlisted in the same army and were fighting for a common cause. There were wide differences among them in habits of life and political methods, but they were all tariff reformers, they were all agreed that the McKinley bill was a "culminating atrocity," and that the Republican party was a very bad party indeed. However widely they varied they were all reformers, and however their methods differed they all sought to get votes for the same candidate. In the closing hours of the campaign that candidate himself went up to the very mountain-top of virtue and reform, and in a speech at the Lenox Lyceum denounced, in that fresh and pleasing style so beloved by his admirers, the wickedness of the Republicans in spending money at elections. No one could fail to be impressed by such an exhortation at such a moment. There were scoffers, it is true, who said at the time that money was spent in elections by both parties, and that the Republicans were no worse than their neighbors, but this carping criticism was scarcely heard in the general acclaim which greeted an exhibition of virtue so great as that at the Lenox Lyceum. Subsequent disclosures have enabled us to guess at the facts which no doubt suggested to Mr. Cleveland the necessity of throwing his vast influence against this growing evil of our politics. We have learned lately that it was just about that time that patriotic motives prompted a noted gift of fifty thousand dollars to the Democratic campaign fund, and that the Sugar Trust opened its purse to the Democratic Committee of New York. These were circumstances calculated to alarm a great patriot, and hence, no doubt, caused Mr. Cleveland's denunciation of the infamy of

using money in elections. It is true that while this money appears to have been with the Democrats, the infamy, according to Mr. Cleveland, was with the Republicans. This seems an odd arrangement, but it should not be forgotten that the ways of reformers as lately exhibited to an interested people are themselves odd.

With an army thus constituted and with this last cry for political purity upon the lips of their leader, the Democrats carried the country. The Republican party, which for more than thirty years had controlled the country, were beaten, every branch of the government passed into Democratic hands, the misdeeds of the Republicans were to be exposed and undone, and the "culminating atrocity" lay at the mercy of the victor.

It was a prosperous country which these victors were called to govern. When they came in, business was active, labor was well employed, and men had a reasonable confidence in the future; when they came in, there was peace at home and abroad and honorable relations with all foreign countries, great and small. When they came in, however, men differed with each other politically, the national government was respected by the people in all its branches, and there were no scandals rife at Washington. But after all, this was only a general and familiar well-being, and many evils and inequalities existed, such as have always existed among men, and from which humanity has never been free. Such a hum-drum condition, with its slow but steady progress, did not content the party of reform. Ordinary and general prosperity might be well enough for the Republican party, but it seemed a poor thing to the party of reform. They were going to give us something far better than this, and, if we could believe their moderate and truthful statements made before election, their coming into power would be followed by something little short of an earthly millennium.

So they won their victory, but, somehow or other, the millennium did not at once appear. It was not, of course, to be expected in its full flower until after the fourth of March, 1893, but its near and certain coming ought to have filled every one with delightful anticipation, and made the hearts of the people sing for joy. For some reason this did not come to pass. After the country had looked at the results of the election for a few days, there seemed to be a general chill instead of a generous glow, and

business began to hesitate and stop in its forward movement. At last the fourth of March arrived, the government changed hands, and the Republicans were finally out of the way. Eighteen months have passed since then, and we are now in a position to reckon up that earthly millennium promised by the party of reform, and see exactly what it has brought us.

Let us look first at those matters which are peculiarly within the province of the administration itself. After appointing a cabinet of uncommon brilliancy and distinction, Mr. Cleveland turned his attention to foreign affairs. He is above all things a reformer, and no doubt has a profound contempt for the doctrine that, however parties may change, continuity in the foreign policy of a great nation is desirable. He therefore set to work at once to overthrow the Republican policy in regard to the Hawaiian Islands. With the quick imagination for which he is so conspicuous he invented a new officer to carry out this change. He devised a "Paramount Commissioner," and sent Mr. Blount, of Georgia, in that capacity to the Hawaiian Islands. He accredited his "Paramount Commissioner" to the President of the Provisional Government, whom he styled his "great and good friend," and then, in his blunt, straightforward fashion, instructed his commissioner privately to do his best to overthrow his "great and good friend" and the Provisional Government, and to bring about the restoration of that interesting sovereign, Queen Liliuokalani. The preliminaries went well. Mr. Blount hauled down the American flag and ordered the American forces off the island. But the Provisional Government, with the perversity which sometimes attaches to persons not properly versed in reform, declined to be either hauled down or ordered off. It was very annoying, and before stronger measures could be taken Congress got together and the Hawaiian policy of the administration has disappeared. President Dole, the unregenerate, is now the head of a permanent republic, and the former queen has become a claimant in Washington. The Hawaiian policy, however noble in conception, has failed in practice.

Since then the administration, casting about for some other field of usefulness in the Pacific, has lighted on Samoa. There it proposed that we should withdraw. Mr. Bayard said in London that Sir John Thurston was a most excellent man and a most excellent governor, and that we had better give up Samoa to

England and let Sir John take charge of it. A foreign policy which consists in giving up things has one merit : it is generally successful. It is always easy to give away something valuable, especially to England, to which this administration appears to be strongly attached. Unluckily the German Emperor was one of the parties to this Samoan agreement, and he remonstrated and the Senate remonstrated; and so this glorious policy of self-sacrifice in Samoa has been checked. In justice to the administration it ought to be said that this check is not due to any shortcoming on its part.

If there was any one thing upon which this administration was particularly strong, so far as the declarations of the President went, it was in the field of Civil Service Reform. What a record has there been made! It is altogether too serious to speak of ironically. The selection of Mr. Proctor for president of the Civil Service Commission was most admirable, but the rest of the story is a dreary one to any one who is interested in the great movement which is slowly, but surely, taking the offices of the government out of politics. The Post Office Department is following in the footsteps of its predecessors; it is neither better nor worse, and is, as it has always been, the victim of a bad system. The looting of the Interior Department has never been equalled in our time, and is only surpassed now by that of the Treasury Department. Not content with seizing every place outside the classified service in these two departments, reductions, promotions, and removals, as has been shown by reports of the Civil Service Commission, have been made to an unheard-of extent, and with a discrimination not merely in regard to politics, but, what is far worse, in regard to race and section—that is, against the colored people and against persons of Northern birth. The spoiler has even reached out in the Treasury Department and seized upon the Coast Survey; and the head of this scientific bureau has resigned because he would not be responsible for the Survey when the officers in it were given up to political patronage. The Consular Service has always been the prey of politics; but never has it been changed with the merciless thoroughness and rapidity exhibited by Mr. Quincy or with such absolute disregard of the needs of the service and of its importance to the business of the country. But the worst thing that has happened to Civil Service Reform is the ruling of

the Attorney-General that circulars demanding contributions of persons employed by the government, if sent by mail, are not a violation of the law against political assessments. This ruling nullifies that law; and if sustained throws the whole government service open once more to the evil system of political assessments which it has taken years to destroy. The House of Representatives has contributed its mite toward the breaking down of the Civil Service law by passing by a party vote an act to throw the railway mail service open once more to the spoils system.

These matters of foreign policy and of domestic administration, however, important as they are, have been lost sight of in the legislative efforts of the Democratic party in Congress. Disturbed by the popular uneasiness caused by their victory, the Democratic leaders and the Democratic press set themselves in the winter of 1893-94 to the work of impressing on the public mind that the existing uneasiness was due to the danger to be anticipated from the operation of the Sherman act. This had the effect, intended by its authors, of diverting attention from the Democratic party to the act in question. But it also had another and a very bad result. Instead of allaying uneasiness it stimulated it and changed it rapidly to a feeling of deep alarm and anxiety. After the administration came in, instead of calling Congress together to deal with the silver question, which they themselves had described as so pressing, everything was allowed to drift and nothing was done to check the growing anxiety. In April, by way, we must suppose, of soothing the alarm of the business community, Mr. Carlisle suggested in an interview that it might be necessary to pay the treasury notes in silver. Two days afterwards the President contradicted formally the statement of his secretary. The result of these varying opinions was not fortunate. Instead of promoting confidence, they acted like a spark in a powder magazine, and a panic began in Wall Street, which spread so rapidly and disastrously that the President was finally forced to call Congress in extra session on the 7th of August. There is no need to rehearse the events of the extra session. The strangely assorted army which had won the November victory now began to march in different directions, and in Democratic hands the Senate became apparently unable to act. After a bitter struggle a compromise measure was formulated, which met with the approbation of the administration and of nearly all the Democratic Senators. Sena-

tor Hill, of New York, however, stood out for absolute and unconditional repeal, and when his attitude became known the President announced with great promptness that he took the same view. The compromise fell to the ground, the compromisers felt a good deal of annoyance at the desertion of the administration, and the silver-purchasing clauses were repealed. The repeal was eminently wise, but a great opportunity was then lost in not taking advantage of the situation, as might have been done, to secure legislation necessary to protect our gold reserves and to forward some proper solution of the great currency question. We are now reaping the bitter fruits of that failure. Our gold reserves are rapidly disappearing, and the government has no authority to issue bonds to buy gold, while the Democratic Congress has refused to pass any legislation looking in that direction. We have, however, the consolation of knowing that the President at the crisis of the silver struggle stood quite as firm as Senator Hill for unconditional repeal and was not at the time discovered to have discussed sympathetically the terms of compromise with those who advocated it.

The purchasing clauses of the Silver act were unsound and wrong. They were properly repealed; but equally wrong with the clauses themselves has been the utter indifference of the Administration to the currency question and the complete failure of the Democrats, from the President down, to make the slightest effort towards its solution. The repeal of the silver clauses brought no relief to the stricken business of the country, and it therefore seemed to the Democratic party a peculiarly fit moment to attack violently our industrial system and to add to the growing dangers of the currency question, which were affecting the business of the world, the perils and uncertainties of an industrial revolution. They have been engaged in this congenial task since last December, and the consequent losses and sufferings of the country have been beyond computation. The reform began with the introduction and passage of the Wilson bill in the House. As an exposition of the principles of the Chicago platform, which declared protection unconstitutional and a robbery, this bill was hardly a success. It was full of protection administered as a preference chiefly to Southern interests, and in this way threw overboard all the principles which the Democratic party had been advocating. But as a measure for the destruction of Northern

industries and for a complete dislocation of the industrial system of the country, it was a shining success. The party which favored a tariff for revenue only threw revenue away with splendid prodigality, and, turning from indirect to direct taxation, imposed in a time of profound peace an income tax upon a particular class of the people, although that tax had never been resorted to in this country before except as a war measure. This bill, which abandoned all the principles of those who voted for it and which upon the recommendation of President Cleveland in his message embodied an income tax, came to the Senate on the first of February. The Democratic members of the Finance Committee considered it for about seven weeks in the seclusion of some garret or cellar, and then reported it in rather more extreme form to the Senate. Thereupon they found that it could not pass the Senate, and after further meditation and a conference of Democratic Senators, it was determined to amend the bill so that it could command forty-three Democratic votes. When it reappeared again in the Senate in May, it was accompanied by some 600 amendments which formed the price paid for the votes. In the long debate of two months which ensued, the manner in which the bill was constructed was plainly brought to light and certain features of the measure came out in bold relief. Southern industries were well cared for, and where the Southern happened to be also a Northern industry, as in the case of cotton textiles, the latter was well cared for too. Every subject of the tariff in which a trust was interested, from sugar to matches, was protected, but the smaller industries unguarded by trusts or combinations suffered severely, although not so severely as in the House. Finally it became apparent that the great controlling force in the make-up of this bill was the Sugar Trust.

This measure, constructed in this way, passed the Senate on the 3d of July. With remarkable prescience the President, on the 2d of July, had written a private letter to Mr. Wilson, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee; and this letter, in which the President foresaw so accurately what would happen in the future, was read in the House of Representatives three weeks later, after the conferees had failed to agree. It was a somewhat unusual method for a President to take, in order to inform Congress of his views, but this did not detract from the general interest of the communication. The President pointed out that

the men who made the Senate bill were guilty of "perfidy and dishonor," and that the great Democratic principle of free coal and free iron, the only principle which had survived of the collection in use before the election, must be vindicated at all hazards. Thereupon the Senators who had had this reform movement worked on them already in the silver question, rebelled. They openly accused the President of having approved all that was done in the formation of a Senate bill, and, what was far worse, they proved it by witnesses of undoubted truth who shared the President's views.

Before this article can appear, some decision will have been reached, in all probability, as to the tariff. At the moment of writing, however, that valued measure of reform is still lying unsettled after five weeks of wrangling in the hands of the Democratic members of the Conference Committee. The best thing that could happen would be its defeat, but if it should pass in some form it matters but little what that form may be. The bill cannot be otherwise than thoroughly bad. It is filled with preferences and with the grossest favoritism. It has no economic principle of any kind, it guards the trusts, and is black with scandals. The point of contention at present is not concerned with the merits of the bill. It is resolved into a simple question of whether the President by any means, good or bad, can obtain a personal victory over Senator Gorman. This no doubt has an interesting side, but it has no more bearing on the general welfare of the country or upon its economic system than the settlement in the prize ring that Corbett can whip Jackson, or Jackson Corbett. The President accepts the sugar schedule and desires to have free coal and free iron. Senator Gorman favors duties on coal and iron and has with his friends offered to give up the sugar duties, which the House, acting for the President, declined. The President apparently is ready to take care both of the Sugar Trust and the Dominion coal company and is devoted to free raw materials. Senator Gorman desires to protect coal and iron and appears to take but a secondary interest in the trust. The great movement for tariff reform has resolved itself into this ignoble personal contest within the lines of the Democratic party. Whatever the result of the personal struggle may be, the bill, if any bill is passed, is sure to be a thoroughly bad one.

I pointed out at the beginning what the Democrats found

when they came in : a prosperous country ; peace at home and abroad ; no scandals in Washington ; and respect for the government of the country. Look at it to-day. In the hands of its Democratic majority, the Senate has sunk in popular estimation and the President is engaged in assailing the Senate and trying to dictate to the House. The scandal of the Quincy lithographic contract, of the armor-plate frauds, of the Government Exposition building, and, blackest of all, of the Sugar Trust, are all flagrant in Washington, and three of them subjects of Congressional investigation. We have made a pitiful exhibition of ourselves in Hawaii and Samoa. The Civil Service has been plundered, and the patriotic work of building up our navy has been stopped. Gold is pouring out of the country, and the reserves upon which the great fabric of the currency rests are vanishing. Business is prostrate, labor is unemployed, strikes and disorder have broken out all over the country. It is idle to try to explain away these things by saying they are the results of Republican legislation, for they did not exist before the 4th of March, 1893, when the Republicans ceased to rule. They are the results of putting power in the hands of an incompetent and ill-assorted party. The Congressional elections are at hand. If the people have learned the lessons of the last eighteen months, the result of those elections is not in doubt. There really is only one question before the people, and that is whether they like the results of Democratic victory. If they do, they will return the Democratic party to power in the lower House. If they do not, they will take power from them and keep it from them for many years to come.

H. C. LODGE.